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Unfinished Struggle for Human Freedom . . F. CYRIL JAMES

Fourteen Months of the Taft-Hartley Law . . LYNN T. WHITE

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PAUL NEWTON POLING, Secretary and Editor; MARGARET E. KUHN, Assistant Editor; CLIFFORD EARLE, Associate Secretary; FERN M. COLBORN, Assistant Secretary; and WILLIAM H. MCCONAGHY, Director, and JESSE BELMONT BARBER, Associate Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.

CONTENTS : DECEMBER, 1948

Articles PAGE

The Unfinished Struggle for Human Freedom, *by F. Cyril James* 1

R$_x$ for National Health, *by Channing Frothingham and Frederick E. Robin* 8

The Lost and Forgotten Children of Europe, *by Gertrude Samuels* 12

Fourteen Months of the Taft-Hartley Law, *by Lynn Townsend White* ...20

Editorial Comment

For Times Like These 16

Christian Action 23

Sanctuary 28

About Books 30

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THE UNFINISHED STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM

By F. CYRIL JAMES, *principal and vice-chancellor of McGill University, Montreal, Canada.*

THE United Nations is a political organization through which a dynamic philosophy can be made effective in shaping the world of tomorrow. It recognizes more frankly than the League of Nations the significance of political power, and places upon the citizens of the great powers the responsibility for determining the course of world affairs.

There is a sharp conflict of philosophy—or shall I use the ugly word "ideology"—among the great powers. The policy of Russia and its satellite states stands in clear contrast to that which is pursued by the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and other Western countries that share a similar tradition.

Democracy

The word "democracy," which we use so often to describe our way of life, is not wholly satisfactory for this purpose. Professor E. H. Carr points out that Marshal Stalin has, since the new Soviet Constitution of 1936, used the word "democracy" more often than any of the British or American political leaders. But Marshal Stalin does not mean by "democracy" the institutions with which we are familiar in the Western world. Russian democracy is no more akin to Anglo-Saxon democracy than Mr. Churchill's famous promise of "blood, sweat and tears" is identical in meaning to the phrase, "blood, body-water and eye-wash" into which it was translated by a student of Basic English.

To Russia, and to many another country in Continental Europe, the word "democracy" describes a political system under which the country is run for the benefit of its people by a small group that holds absolute power. Such "democracy" implies a final surrender by the individual of all his rights, and the vesting of those rights in an omnipotent state. It was Guizot who expressed his mature opinion that "absolute power cannot belong in France except to the Revolution and its heirs, for they alone, for many years to come, can reassure the masses about their interests while refusing them guarantees of liberty." (F. P. G. Guizot. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, Vol. I, p. 34.)

No Russian of this generation, to

my knowledge, has expressed the matter so bluntly: But if any citizen is misguided enough to think that he knows better than the state what is good for him, put him before a firing squad; send him to forced labor in a concentration camp; take away his ration card! There must be no criticism of omniscience in authoritarian democracy.

Revolution

It may be suggested that regretable incidents of this kind are the inescapable by-products of a revolution. But although there have been revolutions in England and in the United States, neither of these revolutions involved anything comparable to the Jacobin exaltation of the guillotine, let alone the blood purges familiar to students of Russian or German history during the last half century. The Cavaliers grumbled under Cromwell; the United Empire Loyalists had grievances against the Congress of the United States; but neither of these groups went in daily terror of sudden death or physical torture inflicted by agents of the state.

That contrast between the Anglo-American revolutions and the revolutions of Continental Europe is important. It underlines the peculiar meaning of the word "democracy" in Anglo-Saxon countries. We do not believe that any man is so perfect in wisdom that he will make no mistakes in planning the affairs of the nation. We are skeptical of both the dictator and the *Politburo*. Democracy, to the Anglo-Saxon minds, implies the protection of minorities, the absence of any attempt to dragoon men and women to a uniform pattern. It implies that the citizen shall have a right to work for his Government in his own way, and the right to criticize it when he finds its policies mistaken. It implies that the citizen is more important than the state, and provides that a majority of discontented citizens can, by peaceful and legal means, change a Government that is not adequately striving for the things that concern them.

Capitalism

Words like "capitalism" and "free enterprise" also mean different things to people in different countries, and the context of their meaning is likely to change in different periods of history.

Capitalism, in our minds, is the logical application to economic life of the philosophy of liberal individualism; but we should never forget that our concepts of human freedom and personal liberty are much older than the development of modern capitalism.

If we cannot safely use the words "democracy" or "capitalism" to define our ideals, there remains the concept of human liberties, of the freedom of the individual within the framework of law, as the most satis-

factory definition of the ideal that inspires the Anglo-Saxon approach to the problems of world peace.

In Early England

Do you remember the barons assembled at Runnymede in the spring of 1215, under Robert Fitzwalter, the "marshal of the army of God and Holy Church," whom they had elected to command them? It was no pageant, but the grim earnest of men who resolutely faced the possibility that their wives might be widows and their children fatherless because they would not permit encroachment on their traditional liberties. The promises wrung from the king are practical undertakings of everyday significance:

"12. No scutage or aid (taxation) shall be imposed in our kingdom, unless by the general council (of parliament).

"39. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned . . . save by the lawful judgment of his peers.

"40. We will sell to no man, we will not deny to any man, either justice or right."

Four hundred years later, in 1628, it was an equally determined group of men who presented to Charles I the Petition of Right. It called for the restatement of the old liberties of Magna Charta. The shadow of civil war was already on the horizon, and a king was executed before those fundamental human liberties were once more made secure.

In America

In Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention, as Professor Myrdal has said, the American Republic was founded on an ideal of what a good society ought to be. Once again, men stood ready to defend with their lives those human liberties that were more precious to them than life itself. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights offered a new and more elaborate statement of those fundamental human liberties. Building upon the old foundations, those historic documents set forth the ideal of a free society of equal peoples associated together and freely participating in government.

In Modern England

As chairman of the committee that prepared the Reform Bill of 1832, Lord Durham helped to establish in England the right of manhood suffrage which was inherent in the American ideal of democracy. In his famous Report on Canada, in 1839, he laid the foundation of the British Commonwealth of Nations by providing for responsible government in the colonies. The Balfour Report of 1926 was a logical sequel to that chain of development; and the Statute of Westminster, which set forth in 1931 the relations of the British Dominions to the United Kingdom, is its final crystallization.

That is a long story, covering more than seven centuries of our history, but it is a story that we cannot afford to forget. Men have struggled continuously throughout that period to develop a political system within which each citizen has an equal right to express his opinion regarding both the pattern of society and the aims of government; a political system in which the government is responsible to the people. A man or woman who understands the reality of that tradition cannot be persuaded that any system that protects a government or a privileged group in the irresponsible exercise of power is either democratic or desirable.

Growth on Foreign Soil

This Anglo-Saxon tradition of democracy based upon human freedom has been exported in a fashion that enables the countries in which it takes root to develop into self-governing sovereign powers capable of caring for their own interests. It is worth remembering when the U.S.S.R. is sometimes compared to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

If there are any people still under that delusion, I would refer them to the issue of *Pravda*, October 17, 1945 (*The New York Times*, November 30, 1945). The dispatch calmly records that five independent republics, five sovereign states that were members of a free confederation, have been deprived of their sovereignty and occupied by military and police forces from Moscow. A step unprecedented in the whole history of democratic self-government, no matter how that word may be defined. The Moscow radio on June 26, 1946, volunteered the explanation that in at least two cases this action had been taken by Moscow because "during the . . . war . . . many Chechens and Crimean Tartars, upon the instigation of German agents . . . voluntarily and together with the German Army waged an armed struggle against units of the Red Army."

Independent and sovereign republics quietly abolished in time of peace, because some of their citizens gave aid and comfort to the enemy! Surely this is a strange definition of democracy and queer testimony to the evangelical power of Communism as a political philosophy.

Is Democracy Out of Date?

The Anglo-Saxon tradition of democracy based on human freedom has proved its efficiency in domestic government and demonstrated that it can be exported from Europe to the rest of the world. But is it out of date in this modern age?

Karl Marx thought so. Engels tells us in his letters about the strenuous exercise on Hampstead Heath, exactly one hundred years ago, when Karl Marx was learning

to ride a horse in order that he might lead the cavalry charge of the proletariat. But there was no cavalry charge of the proletariat in England, in spite of the Communist Manifesto. There is nothing in the experience of the English-speaking world during the nineteenth century to suggest that Karl Marx had found in his Communist philosophy an answer to any of the problems that were regarded as significant by the people who lived at that time. There are some people, however, who suggest that, even if Karl Marx was wrong in 1848, the modern world requires a more efficient form of government to plan the welfare of our large population and to co-ordinate the special interests of capital and labor that might otherwise cause both domestic and international problems from time to time.

That argument sounds impressive at first. All of us like to feel that we live in a unique period. I am not sure that we are justified in feeling so.

In the first place, it is doubtful if the so-called "special interests" are stronger today, in comparison with our population and national wealth, than were the monopolies of Tudor England or the great trusts of the United States during the nineteenth century.

It should also be remembered, in the second place, that a century and a half ago the Anglo-Saxon traditions of human liberty were sharply challenged by a dictatorship of the proletariat. The French Revolution had fallen from its high ideals of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" through the Jacobin blood purge to the ruthless dictatorship of Napoleon. The "Red Menace" is no more dangerous today than it was then, as anyone can realize who reads the contemporary accounts. Marshal Stalin has not yet shown us that he has more to offer than the Emperor Napoleon.

Perhaps he has less. In spite of the evils that provoked the French Revolution, the history of France during the past thousand years reveals a clearer conception of human rights than the history of Russia.

Karl Marx, moreover, in spite of all his errors of judgment, envisaged the ultimate development of a classless society in which dictatorship should have disappeared. There is nothing in contemporary Russian policy to indicate that this is anything more than a pipe dream and the present Communist dictatorship is indistinguishable from the autarchic government of a Hitler or a Mussolini.

Indeed, one could go farther. The Russian version of Communism, as reflected in the writings of Lenin and of Marshal Stalin, shows a remarkable similarity to the traditional policies adopted for Russia by Ivan the Terrible and by Peter the Great. Marshal Stalin is a great Russian in the tradition of those two

historic emperors, who, like him, believed in planning all aspects of the life of Holy Russia for the welfare of the general community and who also, like Marshal Stalin, ruthlessly "purged" the community of any who disagreed with them in theory or practice.

A New Dedication

If the challenge to a new dedication means anything to us, how shall we set about the task that it involves? First of all, by helping those who were our allies to repair the weary bodies and shattered cities that are their legacy of war. . . .

In the second place, we must dedicate ourselves and our resources to the establishment of efficient machinery by means of which the nations of the world can collaborate not only through the organization of the United Nations in the political sphere, but through the efficient operation of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, as well as by the extension of the ideas set forth in the Charter for an International Trade Organization.

In the third place, I think that we on this North American Continent must think less in terms of individual enterprise and free capitalism in the precise form that is appropriate to Canada and the United States, and more about the abiding principles of the democratic tradition that enables us to enjoy these advantages. We must make an honest effort to help the people of England, Europe, and Asia to produce for themselves in their own way the things that they want, and place less emphasis upon the fact that their patterns of economic activity are different in many respects from our own. We must continuously recognize that people in other countries have habits and customs that are strange to us, habits and customs that they are entitled to enjoy as an essential part of the democratic inheritance which we offer to them in our effort to attain world peace.

The Price of Liberty

The price of liberty is not only eternal vigilance but unceasing work. Perhaps, in the emergency of defending ourselves from aggression, and when we have been called upon to assume tremendous responsibilities for the reconstruction of the world, we have been inclined to cut corners. Perhaps we have been careless in our recognition among other peoples of those fundamental liberties which we value so highly among ourselves. What we mistakenly regard as Communist sentiment in such European countries as Italy and France is no more than a temporary irritation, due to our failure to make clear by our actions the fundamental respect for human liberties that is inherent in our democratic tradition.

Mistakes and Tragedies

The United States and the countries of the British Commonwealth have fallen below the standards that were set by the best of its citizens; but there have never been periods when those citizens were denied the privilege of pointing out to their governments the extent of those mistakes; there have never been periods when the ideals were forgotten; there have never been periods in which the fundamental liberties of the individual have been consciously denied, and no Government has dared to suggest or has even thought of suggesting that those liberties should be permanently infringed or abolished.

It is for those who deny the importance of this freedom to explain why no man, Russian or visitor from another country, could today appear on a Moscow platform to discuss the problems that beset us in our search for peace. Some of the greatest tragedies in history tell of the remorse of those peoples who did not realize the value of personal liberty and human freedom until they had been deprived of those rights, until it was too late to defend them. Let us remember those tragedies.

Let us remember, in our daily activities, the words that Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg so that, in the spirit of that dedication, we may contribute to the attainment of a peace in which all men and women shall attain the reality of freedom.

Ten Commandments

I. I will respect all men and women regardless of their race or religion. II. I will protect and defend my neighbor and my neighbor's children against the ravages of racial or religious bigotry. III. I will exemplify in my own life the spirit of good will and understanding. IV. I will challenge the philosophy of racial superiority by whomsoever it may be proclaimed, whether they be kings, dictators, or demagogues. V. I will not be misled by the lying propaganda of those who seek to set race against race or nation against nation. VI. I will refuse to support any organization that has for its purpose the spreading of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, or anti-Protestantism. VII. I will establish comradeship with those who seek to exalt the spirit of love and reconciliation throughout the world. VIII. I will attribute to those who differ from me the same degree of sincerity that I claim for myself. IX. I will uphold the civil rights and religious liberties of all citizens and groups, whether I agree with them or not. X. I will do more than live and let live—I will live and help live.

—*Walter W. Van Kirk.*

R FOR NATIONAL HEALTH

DR. CHANNING FROTHINGHAM *and* MR. FREDERICK E. ROBIN *continue their discussion of the nation's health.*

THE very heart of Ewing's report, of interest to doctors and laymen alike, lies in the chapter significantly entitled "An Equal Chance for Health."

With a forthrightness that is commendable in a high administrative official during an election year, Ewing urges "the earliest possible enactment of Government health insurance" as the "best means" to realize the nation's health goals of "complete health and medical services . . . for every man, woman, and child, without regard to his race or religion, the color of his skin, his place of national origin or the place he lives in our land, and without regard for his personal economic status."

In the first realistic "time table" ever charted for national health insurance, Ewing recommends four phases: (*a*) Passage of Federal legislation and setting broad policies; (*b*) a three-year "tooling up" period to establish procedures and coordinate services; (*c*) initial operation geared to existing facilities; (*d*) ultimate expansion to include complete medical coverage for everyone.

"The law should make special provisions to meet the needs of rural areas and the urban centers which serve them." Particular flexibility is advocated to assure "steady financial support in areas that previously have lacked the funds to attract personnel or to finance facilities." Financial aid for medical education and for research is also urged. Ewing declares that these measures "would give the farm population a square deal in medical services for the first time in our nation's history."

The national health insurance program which Ewing and the delegates to the National Health Assembly have in mind is no Utopian scheme. Like our presently operating system of Social Security (into which it would fit) it represents a carefully planned defense against the burden of unpredictable sickness costs. Behind the present bill, S.1320, sponsored by six Senators and two Congressmen, lies a history of sound operation both in private and public practice. For the underlying principle in the United States dates back to the days of John Paul Jones and *Old Ironsides.* In 1798 Congress established a compulsory health insurance plan for its newborn merchant marine. Industrial and fraternal health insurance

plans, organized more than a half century ago, are still going strong. They are proof, if such is needed, that national health insurance is as American as apple pie and as sound economically as the word "insurance" implies.

Like most effective social programs, the basic operation of national health insurance is easily described. To borrow a phrase from Winston Churchill, it "works the magic of numbers for the benefit of the individual." Thus, while no individual can predict in advance whether his sickness bill will be large or small, extremely accurate predictions can be made for large groups, and apportioned accordingly. The pooling of resources of the group affords protection to each individual.

The problem of paying our national health bill (which topped $5.6 billions in 1946) is met by the National Health Insurance Bill in this manner: Employer and employee would contribute to a national fund a sum (not to exceed $54) equal to 1½ per cent of the latter's wages. In return, each insured person and his dependents would be entitled to receive the preventive, diagnostic, and curative medical care from the doctor of his choice. The services of his family physician, specialists where needed, two months' hospitalization, laboratory and X-ray services, expensive medicines, eyeglasses—all these are included without further charge. The self-employed would be similarly covered by their own 3 per cent contribution.

Under national health insurance the average family would receive far more medical care and yet spend, on the average, less than is necessary now. No longer need physicians prescribe solely what their patients can afford. No longer need patients worry about doctor bills or put off needed treatment. Thus the bill when enacted into law carries the great promise of at last freeing doctors and patients from the tyranny of the high cost of medical care.

The specific language of the bill guarantees that each person shall be free to choose his own doctor and hospital. Equally stringent guarantees insure that doctors and hospitals will continue to enjoy the same full professional freedom they have today.

The possible dangers of a costly and inefficient bureaucracy would be eliminated under the bill, since the administration would be handled primarily on a local level by doctors and laymen in each area. The Federal Government is limited to setting broad administrative standards and to the collection of funds for distribution to the states and localities. All the advantages of home rule and local control are jealously preserved.

Tremendous gains in American health are promised by national

health insurance. It would make possible on a large scale the practice of preventive medicine. With the assurance of payment for their services, doctors would be able to practice in rural and poor areas. Medical parity would thus be brought to millions who otherwise could not hope for adequate care.

By aiding properly qualified persons to get more and better professional training the bill would help to alleviate the present shortage of doctors, nurses, and medical workers. It would also pay impressive dividends in the form of better medical care to countless patients in the years to come, by providing money for more hospitals and establishing grants-in-aid for medical research in improved treatments and cures.

The supporters of any measure which has excited the tides of political opinion are always a revealing index of its worth. Let us therefore ask about the friends of national health insurance.

It was launched by President Roosevelt in 1944 in the now famous "Second Bill of Rights": "The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health."

Since then national health insurance has won wide bipartisan support. Industrialists like the president of the Radio Corporation of America and the president of the General Electric Company are pressing for its adoption. A. F. of L.'s William Green, C I O president Philip Murray, and other labor leaders are equally active in behalf of this proposal. America's elder statesman, Bernard Baruch, put the question squarely before the medical profession little more than a year ago when he declared:

"Nothing has been suggested so far, which promises success, other than some form of insurance covering the people by law and financed by the Government . . . what some would call 'compulsory health insurance.' It can be devised, adequately safeguarded, without involving what is termed 'socialized medicine,' I do not fear Government's taking its legitimate part in medicine, any more than I fear it in education or housing."

Leaders in every field have given similar endorsements. The list includes such outstanding Americans as Russell Davenport, Stuart Chase, Mrs. Gardner Cowles, Morris L. Cooke, Jonathan Daniels, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Charles E. Merriam. Nationally prominent physicians like Thomas Addis, of San Francisco, Ernst Boas, of New York, and John Lawrence, of St. Louis, have taken precious time from their crowded schedules to show how health insurance will overcome the economic barrier which today blocks the path to better health care.

These views are buttressed by the repeated endorsements given national health insurance by the Amer-

ican people in public opinion polls. A nation-wide poll by the National Opinion Research Center in 1944 showed that 82 per cent thought something should be done to help people to pay for medical care, and 85 per cent thought Social Security should include doctors' services and hospital care.

Governor Dewey's New York State Commission on Medical Care reported in 1946 that 84 per cent of New Yorkers want health insurance, and more than half the Californians, similarly polled, expressed a like view. An impartial survey conducted by the Washington *Post* in 1946 revealed that 70 per cent of Washington, D. C., residents endorse national health insurance.

The moving experiences of private citizens supplement expert opinion regarding the need for national health insurance. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam asked his audience in New Jersey last February, "Why should there be one doctor for each 597 persons in New York State and but one doctor for each 1,784 persons in Mississippi?"

Cogent arguments were made by Rev. Francis W. McPeek, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Council for Social Action, Congregational-Christian Churches:

"We believe that the compulsory health tax plan . . . is eminently fair to all citizens as it is to all physicians. . . . Christian social obligation requires that we see to the health of our neighbor, first because he is our neighbor, and, secondly, because his health, or ill-health, directly affects us."

His testimony was further supported by Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, distinguished physician and member of the Council for Social Action:

"I am testifying in behalf of the Church whose particular interest is not political or even economic, except secondarily, but which is primarily concerned with the alleviation of human suffering.

"Not only will doctors and health services be more readily available to the public under national health insurance than before, but the quality of medical care will be higher. Truly scientific care will be possible when patients have access to all facilities, institutional care, specialist care, and laboratory procedures."

Out of the wealth of statistics, the testimony of medical economists, and the day-to-day experiences of millions of Americans, comes the certain knowledge that national health insurance is the solution to our health needs. But securing this much-needed legislation will take the thoughtful efforts of all of us—doctors and patients, clergy and laity. Ours must be a lobby for stronger and healthier Americans—a lobby for lives.

In an early issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS *another health and medical authority will comment on possible solutions for our national health problems.*

THE LOST AND FORGOTTEN CHILDREN OF EUROPE

GERTRUDE SAMUELS, *a member of* The New York Times *Sunday staff, has recently spent several months in Europe as a reporter and as observer for the International Children's Emergency Fund.*

THIS is a picture of the children of Europe three years after a war that showed them no mercy and has brought them no peace. For the past three months I have toured countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and I have seen children suffering as children were never meant to suffer. On city streets, in war orphanages, in crowded homes for mutilated children, in backward mountain villages, in caves and pillboxes "converted" into living quarters, in tuberculosis sanitariums and congested general hospitals, this is apparent: the aftermath of Hitler's genocidal war against the youngest generation is still huge and terrifying.

Three years after the war millions of children are still on hunger rations. Many hardly remember what a hot, nourishing meal tastes like, save as a brief luxury of UNRRA liberation days. Many have never known what milk looks like. Their thin, undersized bodies and pale, patient faces reflect the cruel logic of the occupation and war years.

Thousands of children, ragged and barefoot, still live in wartime bunkers, bombed-out houses, and dank cellars below the bombed buildings. Hundreds of thousands are orphans who live in makeshift institutions, little old wise people following a weary routine. Uncounted thousands wait in special centers for artificial limbs which have never come to replace arms, hands, and legs.

Others are perhaps worse off—the homeless and abandoned who travel a dozen kilometers a day to wherever they hear of food and a bed. Nor is the limping army without its own social outcasts—the professional beggars and child prostitutes who, having lived by their wits during the war for self-survival, still ply their old trades on the streets and black markets. And over them all, threatening further their precarious existence, hangs the "white plague" which thrives on malnutrition and neglect—tuberculosis.

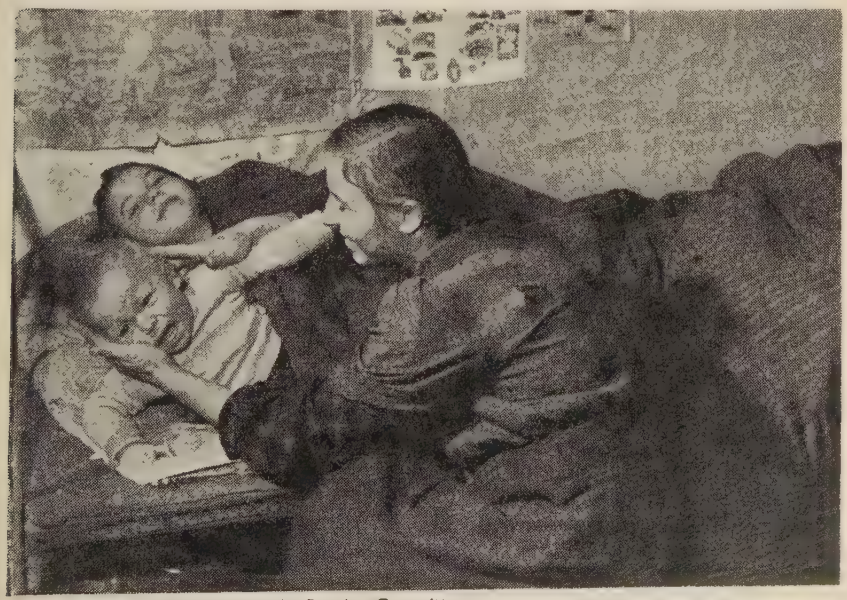
This is the physical picture of the children. Psychologically, the wounds go deeper, for, as Dickens has observed, "In the little world in

which children have their existence . . . there is nothing so finely perceived and so finely felt as injustice." If the General Assembly does not realize what is happening to the children, the children themselves do.

They don't say it with words, of course. Unlike youngsters accustomed to love and care, they have forgotten, or perhaps they never knew, the age-old privilege of children—to ask. But their thin and broken bodies and the rags they wear speak eloquently for them. The obvious needs are food, milk, cod-liver oil, clothes, shoes—the basic necessities—but who will supply them adequately?

Perhaps no country reflects the physical problems more brutally than Italy where almost every town and village to the south took a beating in the war. From Naples to Foggia, Bari, Eboli, Salerno, thousands of children live among the ruins and in grottoes and caves. The Neapolitans have a name for these people for which there is no real translation into English—the "*sinistrati*," the lost or forgotten ones. Yet young as they are, many children are instinctively making a desperate attempt to live more humanly.

For instance, hundreds of children from eight to twelve years of age, many of them orphans, make a trip of many miles each day to the



Courtesy of American Friends Service Committee.

crude boys' town of the Villaggio del Fanciullo—twelve barracks used formerly for the Allied troops. They come off the streets of Bari to the Villaggio "because they know that they can get some food and sleep here."

I spoke to their "mayor" and "police chief"—lads in their early teens.

"We try to get as many kids as possible to come every day," the "mayor" said, "because they don't have anyone to look after them and here they can get some food and stay overnight if they want. Me, I stay here. Most of the kids are homeless and don't want to go back to the streets or doorways at night."

On the outskirts of Rome, the Villa Savoia, a home for mutilated children, gave another picture of the "lost." Here children hobbled around without crutches, with stumps for legs, with double amputations at the elbow. Artificial limbs, I was told, were too expensive, and anyhow children had the bad grace to grow older, which meant new limbs periodically. Little Italo Renzetti, who had lost both arms and his sight by playing with a hand grenade, read Braille with his tongue.

"When I grow up, I'll be a musician," he said with quiet assurance. "I'll play a flute probably. My tongue is useful."

Every country has its "*sinistrati.*" In Poland it is the undernourished and the tubercular. All around Cracow, ancient university town, former coronation city of Poland's kings, and during the past war capital of the German occupation government of Hans Frank, one sees the consequences of the Nazi genocidal program. Cracow itself, the outlying villages, a dozen overflowing war orphanages, child welfare centers, the badly understaffed hospitals give the picture; for wherever one goes one sees the white faces, spindly legs, stunted bodies of children still waiting for their "break."

In Czechoslovakia, especially in the backward villages of Slovakia and Moravia, I saw a people's gratitude flow out to the Scandinavian antituberculosis medical teams which, with local doctors, are working feverishly, under the most primitive conditions, to save pretubercular children.

The tuberculosis incidence is high in this most rigidly rationed of the European countries, where milk and cod-liver oil are luxuries for most children.

A recent survey of French children shows height and weight deficiencies appearing at nine years and growing worse until they reach their summit at fourteen years. I met eleven-year-old Christiane at the neighborhood "*laitérie*" where she was buying the day's milk supply—one liter (pint) for her family.

"The smaller children need half of this," she said. "And we'll have

the rest, in our coffee." We walked back to the shabby three-room flat that was her home.

Her mother said in desperation: "It isn't just the food and lack of milk. Some people have even less than we. If I could be sure of some clothes and shoes for them. How can we manage this winter?"

I heard the same desperate appeal for shoes and clothes in other countries. There was the crude little one-room schoolhouse about fifty miles from Budapest. Almost all the children were without shoes and in rags.

Because evil conditions like the foregoing create fertile ground for new evils, all countries are experiencing serious problems of juvenile delinquency. In many areas of Poland and wherever one goes in the south of Italy, for example, one is accosted by professional child beggars, cringing at outdoor cafés begging for the bread on the tables (many were obviously begging from hunger), holding up a deformity in piteous appeal, like some biting Daumier comment on civilization come to life.

In Vienna, child prostitutes and young thieves under eighteen years are picked up every day by the joint American and Austrian vice squads. Nearly a quarter of them are diseased. As the provost marshal put it:

"What worries me about these youngsters is not so much Communism, which can't take hold here, but the ill effects of the Nazi regime. These children have been left with nothing to believe in, to develop a sense of truth and good behavior."

And all of the foregoing is only the partial story and must be seen in its world context. For millions of children in the war areas of Greece and Palestine and China lack every single precious thing that children must have to go on living. As one doctor summed it up: "They only endure now because they have one ally—nature—on their side."

What does this picture of the children add up to?

Physically, it is typical of at least 30,000,000 children on the critical list in Europe alone. Another 60,000,000 in the Middle East and Far East need everything to strengthen their slender hold on life. Many call these "conservative" figures. Dr. Aake Ording, formerly of the United Nations, Norwegian patriot and a practical man who for eighteen months has tried to make the people of the world understand the children's plight, puts the real total figure of the hungry, ill-clad, and homeless at 230,000,000.

Unlike Jacob struggling in the dark with an unknown adversary, the children struggling in the dark of their youth know their adversary only too well. The question is, How much longer can the adult world ignore the unequal struggle?

So far Governments have managed to ignore it on the grand scale.

(Continued on page 18)

CEILING AND VISIBILITY UNRESTRICTED

MANY wartime pilots will agree with the judgment of one of their company who said, "The most thrilling words a flier can get from his field as he turns home are C.A.V.U.—ceiling and visibility unrestricted."

In our day, the Church is steadily receiving reports of "unrestricted visibility"—limitless horizons, boundless opportunities. From abroad comes an urgent call: "Come over—help us!" At home, churchless communities and churches without ministers plead, "How shall we hear"? Everywhere, men ask, "How can we know the way?" The need of our age is not everywhere understood, but it is everywhere deeply felt and presents the Church with an enormous challenge. The world is our field, and the field is ripe unto the harvest.

The world's need may be treated as an intolerable burden or an unprecedented opportunity. Our response will reveal our faith, or lack of it. Only one month remains for us to indicate through the benevolence budget our concern for this phase of the world-wide opportunity.

Everywhere doors are swinging wide for us to enter—doors that have been opened by the prayers and sacrifices of our parents and their parents. The ability to enter these open doors of ministry is provided by the unequaled material resources that have been placed in American hands. This nation, with six per cent of the world's population, holds 56 to 60 per cent of the world's wealth. The prayer of the parents is being answered in the day of their children, and the hand of need stretched toward us everywhere is our opportunity.

There is, however, one area in which our people may be revealed as critically weak. It is the area of faith—the same failure of faith that defeated the "wondrous works" of our Lord during the days of his flesh. "And he did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief." The critical shortage that threatens to delay the Kingdom of God is this lack of faith—faith that employs the resources God has given men to advance the empire of his love. Renewed faith and great increases in benevolence gifts during December will be required if even the "floor" of our ministry is reached. Beyond is the world opportunity with the "ceiling and visibility" unlimited.

to Faith

WHAT IS APPEASEMENT?

"We will not compromise our ideals." We acclaim in this declaration of Secretary Marshall before the General Assembly of the United Nations. We need to see what the implementation and fulfillment of our ideals involves. Compromise may mean cowardly surrender to an aggressive foe. It may also mean the base refusal to do the good that we know. The person more offensive to Jesus than even a wicked person was a "good" man who refused to act in obedience to his faith. He was salt that had lost its savor! He was lukewarm—to be spewn out. Ideals are betrayed when not obeyed.

Political leaders who have recently returned from Europe are insisting on the full recognition of Franco Spain. The most prominent of these advisers are James A. Farley, Eric Johnston, and Senator Chan Gurney. Certainly these men would vigorously resent any appearance of either appeasement or compromise of Christian America's ideals. Unfortunately some of our leaders "know not what they do," or what they advise us to do.

Senator Gurney called for the recognition of Franco in "the quickest possible time." He declared it is now time to join "with all people of good heart to do the necessary."

The story of the manner in which Franco was put in power by the Fascists and the Nazis, the way in which he played one side against the other in World War II, the arbitrariness, and the cruelty of his regime are all a matter of record. (See periodicals between 1937-1948, including *Time*, *The Nation*, *Fortune*, *Newsweek*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*.)

Franco has five varieties of secret police (*The Saturday Evening Post*. July 5, 1947), and a standing army of one million men devouring one half of the national budget. Why? As national defense measures against France? Portugal? Italy? No! These weapons and measures of terror are to protect Franco from the people of Spain. Recognition of Franco Spain would bypass the United Nations and unite the economic and military aid of this democracy with Franco to fasten totalitarianism on freedom-loving people.

"We will not compromise our ideals!" by surrendering our own freedom or betraying our neighbors. We will not make an unholy alliance with totalitarianism either black or red!

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

The Lost and Forgotten Children of Europe

(Continued from page 15)

Although the UN's International Children's Emergency Fund gives a supplementary meal of 300 calories to some 4,500,000 children in Europe, is training some medical workers for China, and is planning to eke out some funds this winter for shoes and clothing in the most extreme areas, it obviously is touching only the fringe of the problem. And this is because Governments—and people—have been too niggardly with their contributions for the UN to help the children effectively.

There are actually three methods of speeding help to the children:

One is through continued Marshall Plan help, for in spite of unanimous approval of the Children's Fund by the member nations it can reach only part of the children; the long-term solution lies in sufficient economic recovery abroad, with American economic aid, so that Governments may plan for the permanent health of children.

A beginning is being made with the ECA foodstuffs and agricultural machinery valued at over $1 billion flowing at least to the western countries of Europe; the eastern European countries are devoting some percentage of their national budgets to child health planning; and Europe generally, experiencing the best harvests in years this summer, has taken some foods off the rations. But the long-term solution—which is the real solution, for India and Asia as well as Europe—depends heavily on continued economic help until countries can develop their own resources to the point where children don't have to starve and sicken.

Secondly, the children depend upon the good will—and cash—of all the well-to-do nations during this emergency. At present the total resources of the Children's Fund are $95.5 million, against a hoped-for budget when the Fund was created of at least $200 million. With its limited budget, the Fund can yet make no significant dent on the children's needs; large-scale Government contributions—from Argentina, Brazil, Britain as well as the United States—could broaden the Fund's emergency operations this winter, and this will presumably be the substance of ECOSOC's appeal to the Assembly.

Thirdly, the responsibility falls on the people of all countries as well as on their Governments—for whose responsibility are the children if not the people's? Aake Ording is here now to plead the children's cause—to ask that the "One Day's Pay" drive to aid the children be reopened in the United States. As of Oct. 8, 1948, the Appeal for Children campaign in thirty countries had yielded over $20 million; it failed miserably in the States, it has been shown, be-

cause of poor organization by the national committee.

But there are also problems that far transcend the physical emergency—of vital psychological importance to the whole world. Children pattern their lives unconsciously on repressions and defenses, and these children are obviously but small seismographs of the adult world which they share—a smaller reflection of the greater instability and the frustrations which they see and feel about them.

Thus on Vitkov Hill in Prague one early morning recently, silent youths waited all night among the great masses of the people, clutching wilted red-and-white carnations—the forbidden colors of the National Socialist party—to pay homage to the remains of Eduard Beneš.

Thus twenty-two-year-old Gisella Lange, my interpreter in Berlin whose father is a POW in the British zone, asked in despair:

"Shall we believe that all of us who grew up under Hitler took his ideas unchecked into our lives? I do not believe this. But youth must have ideals. We know that the old leaders lied to us and betrayed us. But what do you have to offer? We feel the insecurity and we are very fearful. We want—we must have—something to believe in."

There is no way of measuring the permanent harm, physically and psychologically, already done to the children. But that there are great challenges in the future is apparent to all who understand that this growing generation is the hope—or the threat—of the world. An eminent psychiatrist described it this way:

"For most children in Europe the whole world has gone up in smoke and a great skepticism has come into their lives. They see the hunger around them and feel the lack of confidence, and their lives are being shaped the same way. There has not been a new opinion to take the place of the skepticism, and this children must have to lose their fears.

"Not all the intellectualizing in the world can give this to them," he went on. "I am convinced that a real neurosis comes from within the person, not necessarily from shock or trauma. And this neurosis which sometimes doesn't show up for years is what our children are suffering from. They can only get the new opinion from human example. They must have real values—an *echtes Leben*—a real life."

The question remains, When do the nations and the people of the world propose to show that *echtes Leben* to the children—now, while there is still time to make them the hope of tomorrow's world; or with too little, too late to turn away the threat that they can grow into? On the answer depends the future of the "*sinistrati*," the Jans and Maryas, the Enzos and the Gisellas—and perhaps the world.

FOURTEEN MONTHS OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

LYNN TOWNSEND WHITE. *Professor Emeritus of Christian Social Ethics, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.*

SHORTLY before Congress passed the Taft-Hartley amendments to the Wagner Law of 1935, the General Assembly of 1947 declared, "We know of no group that is virtuous enough to be trusted with the right to impose its will upon another group solely by reason of its superior power." It should be noted that the Government of the United States is no exception to this, as the very existence of the Constitution attests. The Assembly's deliverance was part of its report on industrial relations, the history of which has been marked by grave abuses of sheer power by management and labor.

As a cub reporter on a Knoxville, Tennessee, daily during the summer of 1897, I witnessed the ruthless crushing of a strike in the nearby Coal Creek mines by militia and armed civilian volunteers. I have lived to see the full turn of the wheel in the near prostration of our national economy by miners led by a man who appeared to believe that government by courts need not be taken seriously by willful men. This half century of industrial relations has made it clear to all but the willfully blind that neither armed ruthlessness nor paralyzing pressure is the remedy for the recurring prostrations with which our national economy is periodically threatened. Law, justly conceived and fairly administered, is our best hope, pending a far greater invasion of the hearts of all men by the Spirit of the Carpenter of Nazareth.

The General Assembly calls for: first, strengthening the techniques of collective bargaining; secondly, frank recognition of the fact that monopoly power in the hands of either capital or labor corrupts men; thirdly, elimination of discrimination based upon race, creed, or national origin in hiring and firing; fourthly, by making our system of politics and economics work, since foreign ideologies cannot get a foothold among satisfied people. To what extent do the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act embody the expressed convictions of our Church?

The new law has demonstrably strengthened the technique of collective bargaining, which is the civilized way of creating sound management-labor relations. The

policy of the Wagner Act was to promote unions; the Taft-Hartley Act stresses the individual decision of the worker, as a corrective of collective pressure upon him. In the Wagner Act employers were, and still are, forbidden to engage in five "unfair labor practices," but not one unfair practice was forbidden to labor. When asked why this was so, Senator Wagner weakly replied that the unfair practices of labor, intimidation, personal violence, etc., were sufficiently covered by the common law! Twelve years of industrial relations under that law proved that his optimism had little or no basis in fact. Therefore, the new law specifically forbids certain unfair practices to organized labor in its relations with management and with its own members. These are the "new freedoms" given to the worker in his relations with his labor leaders, as the five unfair practices forbidden to employers by the Wagner Act were new freedoms from the unfair domination of his employers.

Before these can be examined, it is important to emphasize that the new law does not take away labor's right to strike. The irony of the claim that the new measure is a "slave labor law" has never been more obvious than on the day this article is being written, for two major strikes are in progress, one at either end of the country, both of them staggering blows to the two most important seaports of the nation. Both of them were called with final impunity so far as this "slave labor law" is concerned, the President himself acknowledging that he is "powerless" to do anything more, since the court of jurisdiction was left no choice but to end an eighty-day cooling-off period enforced by its injunction. The new law may delay, but it cannot prevent, a strike where the workers are determined to walk out. But I hasten to put by the side of this grim fact another: within the first year of the Taft-Hartley Act there were one third less man-hours lost through strikes and a corresponding increase in the take-home pay covering those hours worked.

In the world of human relations where only approximate solutions, but no final ones, are possible, does this law move more in the right direction than in the wrong one? I hold to an optimistic answer because the techniques of collective bargaining have been strengthened by the "new freedoms" given to the individual worker by these features:

1. Compulsory financial reports by unions. John L. Lewis says wrathfully that it is impossible to comply on this point, but I have it on good authority that the law "gives labor only a small part of the dose businessmen have been getting for some years." This must not be repealed.

2. Freedom from unreasonably high initiation fees and union dues. No union can enjoy the privilege of

a union shop unless the NLRB finds its fees are not "excessive or discriminatory under all the circumstances." A "closed" union due to excessive fees has no moral right to a union shop.

3. Freedom from having union dues taken out of a worker's first pay envelope of the month without his written and revocable authorization. Emergencies arise in every family when union dues should be denied first claim.

4. Freedom from losing his union membership and its related job except for nonpayment of initiation fees and/or dues. For example, if a union rejects a colored man, because he is colored, he cannot be deprived of his job even in a union shop, for lack of union membership. This section of the law also protects union men who are out of sympathy with the policies of their leaders from being put out of their unions on charges trumped up by dictatorial leaders. This amendment should be retained by all means.

5. Freedom of a worker to refrain from any or all union activities, if he so desires, unless the employer has signed a union shop contract. This may be abused by niggardly workers who are willing to enjoy a free ride on the backs of organized workers who pay the costs of improved conditions. The working of this section should be carefully watched.

6. Freedom from a closed shop and from a union shop unless wanted by a majority. Yet a closed shop, if it be the expression of mutual respect and good will, may be, and in many cases is, an instrument of greater freedom for both employer and worker. Such closed shops exist, and it is no man's secret that both parties to the contracts are conniving "extra"-legally to perpetuate them.

7. Freedom from jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts. A law to outlaw both of these was long overdue, since the former are completely unjustifiable and the latter afford racketeers a particularly happy killing ground. Both should be retained unless the Supreme Court declares against them.

8. Freedom from Communist control. This writer wishes that the loyal Americans in labor leadership would speedily get over their hurt feelings about a law that has filled Communist labor leaders with real apprehension. It deserves and ultimately will receive the ungrudging co-operation of our labor leaders.

For these reasons, I believe that wise men will refrain from invective against the law, but by honestly observing it will discover wherein it requires amendment.

SOCIAL PROGRESS considers two sides of a highly controversial piece of legislation - the Taft-Hartley Act. Dr. White's article upholding the Act will be followed next month by Alfred Hoffman's documentation of labor's attitude.

WORKSHOP

THE HARTFORD PLAN

Social Education and Action pronouncements create two questions when ministers seek to speak collectively. First, how can they speak collectively and effectively on important issues? Secondly, how can they speak so that public relationships of the local Council of Churches will not be jeopardized? Last spring, ministers of the Hartford area discovered a way of work that seems to commend itself to others. This grew out of our attempt to speak effectively to the prevailing war hysteria and to help settle a difficult milk strike.

All of us were concerned about the war hysteria during the winter and spring months of 1948, and were much disturbed over the efforts to saddle this country with universal military training, as set up in H. R. 4278. One ministers' meeting was given over to a careful analysis of the bill by Rev. Dutton Peterson, who was then on release from his parish to do special speaking against universal military training. That meeting so awakened us to the dangers of this bill that a special committee was appointed by the local ministers' group to study the matter further and to report back immediately. This committee, of which the writer was the chairman, did study the bill in detail, then arranged a mass meeting to arouse the community to some of its dangers. This was not a singular success, for while many churches were represented by one or two interested laymen, the coverage was not adequate.

Another meeting was held by the ministers for a final report and study of the bill and the presentation of a resolution concerning it. This meeting occurred on the Thursday following the "fateful Wednesday" when President Truman called for an all-out war effort, asking for the draft and universal military training. It was significant then that in the midst of such hysteria, twenty-six ministers in this area were concerned enough about the dangers of universal military training as set forth in H. R. 4278 to sign a petition opposing it.

The papers gave fair space to the ministers' stand; although every general who spoke about the need for military training was given front-page coverage. However, the effect of it was not lost in Washington. In a conference with our Congressman, he told me that he was tremendously impressed by the fact that there was something so disturbing to the ministers that twenty-six of them should be of one mind. This corporate attempt to deal with the problem caused our representative to study the bill much more carefully than he had done before. He then informed me that whereas he had been convinced that there were no dangers involved, he was grateful that we had brought them to his attention. The resolution had a similar effect upon one of our Senators also.

The committee's work was not over. Since we felt that much more could still be done, Rev. Richard Fagley, of the Federal Council of Churches, was asked to address the ministers' meeting, explain what the Federal Council was proposing to do in this situation, and give us his analysis of it. This was a successful meeting.

In the meantime the ministers had become greatly concerned about the distortion of news in the daily newspapers. This was significant, since the two Hartford papers have national reputations for good

reporting. Therefore we asked the editors of the papers to come to a meeting where the committee chairman expressed the concern of the group. The editors responded very well and there was a fruitful exchange of ideas. One stanchly defended the newspapers as being "simply mirrors" and said that therefore they could not lead. The other editor admitted that he too was concerned, that the ministers were right, and that the newspapers had played their part in the creation of this war hysteria. The editors suggested, however, that we should have the managing editors on "the carpet," since they were the ones who "slanted" the news.

During the weeks preceding, the committee had been preparing a resolution on the war hysteria. This resolution, signed by thirty-one of the Hartford clergymen, had reached the editors' desks the morning of the meeting with the editors. Therefore we were not surprised at the unusually good coverage that was given the resolution. The front page of the Hartford *Courant*, the oldest newspaper in the nation, carried a leading article, headlined "Peace Plan Outlined by 31 Ministers." The Hartford *Times*, an afternoon paper, did not put it on the front page, but did give excellent coverage.

A similar plan of careful study and group exchange of ideas was followed in connection with the milk strike last spring. Both sides presented their cases to the ministers' meeting and over fifty ministers were present. As a result of that meeting a committee of three was appointed to represent the ministers' fellowship—their president, the industrial relations chairman of the Council of Churches, and the vice-president of the Federation in charge of Human Relations, who happened to be the writer. Dean Louis Hirshon, of Christ Church Cathedral, who has had a great deal of experience in labor relations as a member of the War Labor Board in Pittsburgh and as a former head of the Toledo Office of the National Labor Relations Board, did a superb job in helping the two sides to meet amicably and with good intentions. The Ministers' Committee was able to make one or two positive suggestions, which at that time helped the two sides to understand each other. While it cannot be said that we helped to settle the strike, we were able to make a public pronouncement concerning it which tended to offset public misinformation concerning the strike. This pronouncement, made after careful study by the committee and by the Ministers' Fellowship, simply stated that in our opinion the only recourse was to arbitration. Thus we joined our Roman Catholic brethren in their stand, but it was done through a very diplomatic process. The Ministers' Fellowship really came alive as we discussed these issues, and at no time did any member of the fellowship ever betray the secrecy that had to prevail at times. It was a high point of Protestant democratic thought coming to bear on a particularly obnoxious social and economic problem.

These two cases are cited merely to show that ministers' groups can speak effectively. They also illustrate the importance of good working relationships with a Council of Churches, for in both instances the Council of Churches was actively engaged. In the milk strike these relationships were especially important, for Hartford is predominantly an insurance and corporation city despite its many industries, and most of the public sentiment was on the side of the company. When Council financing is so difficult these days, it is good to know that a council can be effective without alienating itself from its source of financial supply. Thus the Ministers' Fellowship and the Council of Churches were able to deal with vital problems facing the community.

—L. Wilson Kilgore, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Hartford, Connecticut.

CITIZENSHIP

HOMES FOR FAMILY FELLOWSHIP

Whether or not there will be a real housing program in the United States remains an open question. Housing is still a major problem in America, affecting the lives of millions. Civic, social, labor, veteran's, and church organizations worked as never before for the passage of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. Yet it failed to pass largely because of the efforts of two men—a Congressman and a Senator who kept the bill from reaching the floor of the House for vote. Thoughtful citizens must indeed question what has happened to our democratic process!

The housing bill that was passed made no provision for public housing; nor did it provide funds for research of the type envisioned, the purpose of which was to bring down the cost of housing. The loan program through the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency continues, and some research is being done. To date, it has produced a new plumbing code which in areas where adopted has reduced the price of housing by about $50 per house. Study is now under way toward the use of standardized sizes in building materials and specifications that may reduce the cost of houses by as much as ten per cent.

As Christians our concern for the family is paramount. Therefore we have a logical concern that families live in surroundings conducive to health and fellowship. Since 1910 the Presbyterian Church has condemned bad housing conditions; and in 1946, 1947, and 1948 the General Assembly made a special pronouncement favoring over-all housing legislation, such as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

What can we as members of the local churches do about this problem?

1. Study the Issues Involved in Housing. Write to the Division of Social Education and Action for study materials. A new manual on SEA in local churches is being prepared. It will contain suggestions about organizing study groups. Visit the Housing Authority in your city or county for data about your community.

Borrow a standard book on housing from your library and, as leader of the group, read it and get others to read it; for example, *American Housing Problems and Prospects*, by Miles L. Colean. Twentieth-Century Fund, 1944. Recommended and comprehensive.

Show a film, *The City* or *A Place to Live*. These will be of interest to your entire group. Order Brandon films through Westminster Book Stores.

Organize a housing tour with the cooperation of your Housing Authority and take one or more groups from your church to observe overcrowded, slum areas. Let them see for themselves. Limit each group for housing tour to fifteen. Plan more than one touring group if a large number are interested. One church found so many members wanting to go that it had to plan several trips. Before the tour, arrange for meeting of the group with leader who is familiar with housing conditions, to prepare the group, to explain what to look for. After the tour the group should meet again with the leader to answer questions, discuss what may be done next to improve the situation.

Have your group get the answers for your area to the following questions:

Has the public Housing Authority constructed any dwellings within recent years? Has it leased or otherwise gained control of housing projects? How many units? How many units of one room? two, three, four, or five rooms?

Is personnel to manage public housing enterprises selected under a civil service merit system? If not, how selected? What are the qualifications for this work?

Who are eligible to rent or purchase housing constructed at public expense? How are tenants or purchasers selected?

What provision is made for play space outdoors and indoors? How near are the buildings to public schools? parks? transportation facilities?

From what sources were funds secured to provide this housing? Were any public funds used?

What is the average rental per room?

What agency in your local government is responsible for enforcement of housing law? How many inspectors? Do they visit only on complaint?

What are the chief difficulties encountered in the enforcement of the housing code? What suggestions are offered by informed people for improvement of the law or of its administration?

What agency in your local government issues building permits? How many inspectors has it? How frequently does it inspect buildings during construction? Has it power to stop operations? Has it exercised this power within the last five years?

How many families, by race and nativity owned their own homes? How many lived in rented quarters?

Can you learn how many families in your community are living in dwellings without: (*a*) indoor water connections, (*b*) sewer connections, (*c*) gas or electric light, (*d*) hot water supply, (*e*) toilet or bath for exclusive use of the family, (*f*) private yard space, front or back?

Note on a map of your community the areas where the least desirable houses are located. Do they correspond with greatest density of population?

Are they the areas having the lowest rental values per room? (Not always, because high rents and poor conditions are frequently found in some districts, such as Negro sections. Conversely, good living conditions may be associated with low rents in philanthropic housing developments.)

How do these areas compare with the more desirable residential areas in such features as: proximity to schools and parks, width of streets and sidewalks, paving and repair of streets, lighting of streets, frequency of garbage and refuse collections, promptness of snow removal?

Do these areas contain special hazards such as: unprotected railroad crossings at street level, unsafe, abandoned buildings where children can enter and play at risk of life and limb, deserted buildings, "jungles" frequented by vagrants, houses of prostitution existing in residential blocks?

2. Continue to Press for Adequate Legislation in Congress until there is a good home for every family. A housing bill will probably be introduced early in the 81st Congress. Write your Congressman for a copy; study the bill, and after you have prepared your interested group by the study steps outlined above, invite your Congressman to meet with you to discuss housing. Then and even more important keep in regular touch with him until an adequate housing bill is passed. Remember, those who don't want an adequate housing program do keep in touch with him.

Look to your state legislature; perhaps it can do something too. Letters to the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois will bring you copies of laws passed in those states to help to provide housing.

3. Learn About Building Codes; work for the adoption of a modern code in your area. Find out from your mayor's office (or your county commisssioner's office if your community does not have a mayor) what is in your building code and when it was adopted. Building codes are safeguards for good housing but too many of them are antiquated from the standpoint of modern building materials and make housing construction more costly than necessary. Write the Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1626 K Street, N. W., Washington 25, D. C.,

for a copy of the new plumbing code; work for its adoption in your area. Ask for other materials on building codes.

Concern yourself also about the enforcement of your present code. Is there an adequate appropriation so that sufficient inspectors can really do a job? What happens to violators of the code?

4. Do What You Can in Your Own Community on Your Own Initiative to improve housing. In New York and in Pennsylvania a change in state laws put large sums of money used for investment to work on the construction of large apartment houses.

In a rural section of Kentucky a woman was concerned that houses were built only for white veterans and called on the local builder, persuading him that Negro veterans needed to be housed too. He built the houses and she found the tenants.

There is serious difficulty too in finding building sites where no discrimination exists, even since the Supreme Court ruling against restrictive covenants. Use your influence to gain such building sites from people who own land.

Individual investors might be persuaded to put money into rental housing, particularly for moderate rentals or for improved rural housing. Explain to these people the importance of environment to healthful, happy family life.

It will take years to overcome the present severe housing shortage. To date there is no adequate program toward its solution, and our population continues to grow. As long as great blocks of steel go into armaments, building materials of certain types will continue to be short. We shall not solve the problem of a house for Mary Smith and Johnny Jones, who want to get married, nor for Grandpa Jones whose roof now shelters three generations of Joneses, until we get over our inertia and realize that good citizens are informed, active citizens.

Ten people can carry on the suggestions outlined here. Their efforts can change public indifference and apathy in your community to active citizen participation, and make Mr. Blandings' dream house come true in your town. The Christian cannot be content as long as any individual must continue to live in overcrowded, ill-housed conditions. He believes that every individual is sacred in the eyes of God, and that we are all our brothers' keepers even to keeping a roof over his head!

WHEAT PACT

On August 6, too late for our last press date, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously approved the International Wheat Agreement, but it was announced that it would not be possible for the full Senate to consider it until the next Congress convenes in January. Senator Vandenberg, Chairman of the Committee, stated at a press conference that the action was evidence of continuing United States interest in obtaining a wheat agreement. He also expressed the opinion that such evidence might permit the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and Denmark to signify their willingness to rejoin the pact.

DISPLACED PERSONS

A three-man Displaced Persons Commission was appointed by the President on August 2 to direct the immigration of 205,000 displaced Europeans to the U. S. during the next two years. This immigration was authorized in Public Law 774, which was signed on June 25. The members of the Commission are: Ugo Carusi, former United States Commissioner of Immigration, who recently has been working with the Government on this problem; Edward M. O'Connor, Executive Assistant of the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; and Harry N. Rosenfield, Assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing. $2,000,000 was appropriated for the Commission which will administer the law.

—*Fern M. Colborn.*

Sanctuary

The Christian Hope

Call to Worship:

"The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. . . . For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever."—*Isa. 9: 2, 6, 7.*

Hymn: "Joy to the World! the Lord Is Come."

Invocation:

"O Thou who hast visited us with the Dayspring from on high, who hast made light to shine in the darkness, we praise Thy holy name and proclaim Thy wonderful goodness. We bless Thee for the dawning of the light in far-off ages so soon as human eyes could bear its rays. We remember those who bore aloft the torch of truth when all was false and full of shame; those far-sighted souls who from the mountaintops of vision heralded the coming day; those who laboured in the darkened valleys to lift men's eyes to the hills. We thank Thee that in the fullness of the times Thou didst gather Thy light into life, so that even simple folk could see: for Jesus the Star of the morning and the Light of the world.

"We commemorate His holy nativity, His lowly toil, His lonely way; the gracious words of His lips, the deep compassion of His heart, His friendship for the fallen, His love for the outcast. Thou dost not abhor our flesh, nor shrink from our earthly toil. Thou rememberest our frailty, bearest with our sin, and tastest even our bitter cup of death.

"And now we rejoice for the light that shines about our daily path from the cradle to the grave, and for the light that illumines its circuit beyond these spheres from our conception in Thy mind to the day when we wake in Thy image; for the breathing of Thy spirit into ours till we see Thee face to face: in God; from God; to God at last. Hallelujah. Amen."

From The Temple, *by W. E. Orchard* (E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.).

Scripture Readings: Isa., chs. 40; 50; Luke 1: 68-70; 2: 8-20.

Meditation:

It is the strange fate of man to come to the end of the year tired, weary, and somewhat disconsolate over the work that has been done, and with a sharp realization of what a failure he has made in another of the marked distances of life, and be forced in spite of it all to wear the smile of the Christmas tide.

The year through which we have come has been too full of change and anxiety, too

laden with meaning, too tense with the possibilities of war and the high hopes of a people who long for peace, that Christmas, when it comes, may not seem like Christmas at all. Yet never have we lived in a time when Christmas can mean more to us or do more for us than now.

It holds a marvelous and mysterious power over life—this Christmas Spirit! No matter what conditions prevail, it invades the citadel of the soul and transforms life for a season, if not forever. It is not the power of the sword, nor of gold nor of position, but it is the power of love which is greater than self. Through it we become unselfish for a season; and unselfishness invites confidence and trust—the soil in which friendship flourishes. And then follow peace and good will, the fruits of friendship.

This year the Christmas Spirit will bring more than its usual blessings—it will bring comfort to hearts in sorrow, assurance to those in whose hearts hope has burned dim, and brightness to those who have lived long months under dark clouds. Then welcome, happy Christmas time, for its Spirit brings the "assurance of things hoped for" and peace on earth, good will among men.

Prayer: For the Kingdom of God:

"O Christ, thou hast bidden us pray for the coming of thy Father's kingdom, in which his righteous will shall be done on earth. We have treasured thy words, but we have forgotten their meaning, and thy great hope has grown dim in thy Church. We bless thee for the inspired souls of all ages who saw afar the shining city of God, and by faith left the profit of the present to follow their vision. We rejoice that today the hope of these lonely hearts is becoming the clear faith of millions. Help us, O Lord, in the courage of faith to seize what has now come so near, that the glad day of God may dawn at last. As we have mastered Nature that we might gain wealth, help us now to master the social relations of mankind that we may gain justice and a world of brothers. For what shall it profit our nation if it gain numbers and riches, and lose the sense of the living God and the joy of human brotherhood?

"Make us determined to live by truth and not by lies, to found our common life on the eternal foundations of righteousness and love, and no longer to prop the tottering house of wrong by legalized cruelty and force. Help us to make the welfare of all the supreme law of our land, that so our commonwealth may be built strong and secure on the love of all its citizens. Cast down the throne of Mammon who ever grinds the life of men, and set up thy throne, O Christ, for thou didst die that men might live. Show thy erring children at last the way from the City of Destruction to the City of Love, and fulfil the longings of the prophets of humanity. Our Master, once more we make thy faith our prayer: 'Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done on earth!'"—*Walter Rauschenbusch.*

Hymn: "Hark! the Herald Angels Sing."

Benediction: Prayer for the Christian Year:

"O Father, who hast declared thy love to men by the birth of the Holy Child at Bethlehem; help us to welcome him with gladness and to make room for him in our common days; so that we may live at peace with one another and in good will with all thy family; through the same thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord Amen."

—Prepared by John R. Williams, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Wooster, Ohio.

About Books

The Christian Outlook. by Kenneth Scott Latourette. Harper & Brothers, publishers. $2.50.

To read this book is to be lifted out of one's narrow corner in the Christian enterprise and see the whole movement in terms of its world breadth and historical sweep. Dr. Latourette is a fine Christian spirit with a great mind, who believes that the future of Christianity is the future of mankind. From his perspective as a church historian he surveys Christianity in the world today, its vitality and anemia, then makes tentative prophecies as to the directions its various branches will take. He also includes chapters on what he believes to be the essential Gospel and the challenge Christianity presents to its adherents today.

Those not interested in the author's theology or judgments will find the heart of the book in an article he wrote for the spring, 1947, issue of *Christendom*.

Dr. Latourette's survey is conducted with the usual superb scholarship we have come to expect from him. He is realistic about the chaotic state of the world, and the seriousness of the problems facing Christianity. He is also realistic in assessing the strengths of the movement and holds optimistic hope for the future, if we who now represent the faith rise to the challenge of the hour.

After outlining the sterility of Eastern orthodoxy and the rigidity of Rome, the author concludes that "through Protestantism lies the main course of the Christianity of the future." His predictions regarding the future waxing and waning influences of various branches of the Church are fascinating. He shows how the breakdown of central and southern Europe will have serious effects upon the Roman Catholic Church; and how that Church can expect little reinforcement from Latin America but considerable strengthening from the United States. With the decline of England as a world power and the eclipse of Germany, he predicts that Lutheranism and Anglicanism will be less influential, and that American Protestantism will become more and more dominant. This means, says he, that the more radical expressions of Protestantism, as developed by the Baptists and Quakers, for example, will become more influential. He expects the Presbyterian influence to remain about the same.

Dr. Latourette makes his judgments tentatively and supports them well with his facts; but without being critical this reviewer has the feeling that even though the author realistically sees the modern world for what it is, his predictions for the future are predicated upon the assumption of not too great a change in the climate of opinion of the Western world. Thus the author foresees the increasing influence of Protestantism in the days to come, without taking into account the possibility that more people may be attracted by Roman authoritariansim and certainty as world chaos and insecurity deepen. In days of trouble many people look for authoritative leadership and reject creative experimentation; so that the future may see an increasing trend toward Roman and fundamentalistic dogmatism.

From the point of view of social progress one wonders whether Dr. Latourette has sufficiently taken into account the importance of the social message of the Christian faith. He doesn't ignore it, but he is never

very explicit. If the Christian movement is to capture the allegiance of the great mass of people, it must have relevant answers to their pressing problems of food, shelter, and a meaningful existence. Communism has captured the loyalty of millions because it is definitive in its answer to these questions, but one fails to find in this book evidence that Protestantism today is realistic enough about these problems to challenge the Communist appeal.

—*Hubert C. Noble.*

America's Spiritual Culture, by Bernard E. Meland. Harper & Brothers, publishers. $2.50.

Here is a thought-provoking analysis of our culture, which goes beyond diagnosis to suggest a cure. Dr. Meland raises a number of questions: Are the churches prepared to contribute . . . leavening in our national life? Is Christianity in America attuned to the task of giving constructive aid to the social engineering that is bound to come now that the war is over? Can Christianity be an aid to America in her coming struggle for spiritual fulfillment? How may we relate the racial elements in our nation in appreciative ways that will minimize conflict and increase the possibilities of undivided fulfillment and creative interchange among groups?

The author surveys our present situation in America and calls for a new correlation of organized religious forces. He feels that the churches are "island enterprises. . . . The mainland is little affected." As long as the enterprises of modern culture act with indifference to Christian values, there is a challenge before the religious forces of America to labor to preserve and build our spiritual culture. "Christianity must achieve a constructive function in society as well as a prophetic voice." He scores the practices of our Western capitalistic cultures in subjecting the peoples of lesser nations to near slavery in order to supply our people with the goods demanded for our standard of living.

The Church in America is summoned to go beyond nationalism, regionalism, and artificialism. Dr. Meland calls for the dedication of mind, hand, and heart to provide the conditions that will favor our growth toward spiritual ends.

This is stimulating reading.

—*Gordon W. Mattice.*

Treasury of Religious Plays, compiled by Thelma Brown. Association Press. $3.00.

Miss Brown, who has for some time been associated with religious-book publishers, has compiled this collection in answer to repeated requests for dramatic material—a Christmas play with a missionary emphasis, one for the radio, a peace play for a group of boys, an Easter play with meaning for today. From her wide experience she has brought together this collection of twenty plays, some of them old and well-known, but many of them less familiar and most of them not available before in book form.

There is wide variety in the collection. Four of the plays are Biblical in character; three are historical, being based on the lives of Miles Coverdale, Roger Williams, and the author of "Silent Night." Dramatizations of Dickens' *Christmas Carol* and Tolstoy's *Where Love Is* are also included. Most, however, have a present-day setting, and deal, some more subtly than others, with missions, race relations, literacy, Christian vocation, democracy, evangelism, temperance, truth, and youth problems. Seven are selected for children or early teen-agers, and a number are chosen with young people in mind.

There are four radio plays, among them *A Child Is Born,* Stephen Vincent Benét's moving dramatization in poetic form of the Nativity, originally given on the "Cavalcade of America." There is, too, a satirical drama by Channing Pollock. These, perhaps, are the best, judged as dramatic writing, but though the others may not be great plays and we may wish our most com-

petent playwrights would turn to a religious interpretation of life, all of these should have real value for young people taking part in them and trying sincerely to interpret their meaning and make them live.

Half an hour is the average time required for production; most of the plays use six to eight characters, though they range from three to eighteen, and most of them should be fairly simple to produce. Nearly all of them can be secured in inexpensive pamphlet form, more than half require no royalty payment, and for the others the royalty is not high.

For added convenience there is a complete index—by subject, number of characters, and playing time.

The book should be valuable for a church school library and useful to anyone looking for plays that provide recreational material of real value and are at the same time effective tools for religious education.

—*Helen E. Resch.*

Modern Man's Conflicts, by Dane Rudhyar. Philosophical Library. $3.75.

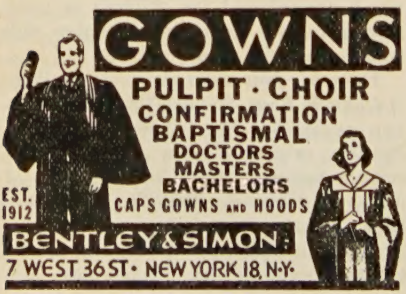
When an author combines the characteristics of an art critic, composer, and psychologist and writes a book in the field of philosophy, Mr. Average Man has to scratch his head occasionally to be sure he understands the author's points. The purpose of this book is to challenge the present generation to produce a new world that will be one world. The author believes in the intrinsic and the potential worth of man; also that religion is essential to the creation of a new world.

Modern man, according to the author, is not completely to blame for his present frustration and the many conflicts that afflict him. He is partly the victim of entrenched institutionalism that has restricted his creative urge and has also kept him from producing the bountiful goods that the world needs to be successful and happy. "Consider what happened to the Roman world after the Punic and the Macedonian Wars," says the author, "when Rome's domination over the Mediterranean regions was all but complete. A new human spirit was in the air. It took form and name in Palestine. But the momentum of the institutions that had been developing for a few centuries—intellectually in Greece, legalistically in Rome—absorbed this new human spirit. Christianity was made in the image of these institutions; Western man was not made in the image of Christ. Rome placed its faith in its institutions—and fell. We too, in America, have been placing our faith in our institutions—and we may fall, in a manner appropriate to our new global world and our atomic age."

But the author believes it is unnecessary for America to fall and for the world to destroy itself. "There is only one world, one globe for men to dwell upon. . . . To ignore this fact is naïve. . . . One wonders if they really believe we live on a globe." On this globe there could be plenty for all man's needs, harmony for all his conflicts, religion for all his hopes and aspirations. The way to secure such a world is to produce greater human beings from the "seeds" that are planted by the minority, at first, who see the vision of this new world and who are willing to sacrifice themselves, as a seed sacrifices itself. "To build greater institutions without greater human beings to ensoul them is a dangerous procedure."

—*Earl F. Zeigler.*

★



The Singing of Angels

There must be always remaining in every man's life some place for the singing of angels—some place for that which in itself is breathlessly beautiful and by an inherent prerogative, throwing all the rest of life into a new and creative relatedness—something that gathers up in itself all the freshets of experience from drab and commonplace areas of living and glows in one bright white light of penetrating beauty and meaning—then passes. The commonplace is shot through with new glory—old burdens become lighter, deep and ancient wounds lose much of their old, old hurting. A crown is placed over our heads that for the rest of our lives we are trying to grow tall enough to wear. Despite all the crassness of life, despite all the hardness of life, despite all of the harsh discords of life, life is saved by the singing of angels.

—Howard Thurman.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Questions on housing standards and inspection in the "Citizenship" section of "Christian Action" are quoted from Joanna C. Colcord's *Your Community,* Russell Sage Foundation.

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Modern Madonna

As this Christmas approaches, the Presbyterian Church must decide whether some present day babes—many of them born in conditions worse than the manger of Bethlehem—will have a chance to survive. And will their mothers and fathers, their sisters and brothers, have the benefits of training in Presbyterian schools and churches; receive healing when necessary in Presbyterian hospitals?

Or will some of "our family"—accustomed to our help in the past—be denied this aid in the future?

Whether we must close schools, churches, hospitals at home or abroad, will depend on how the 1948 Benevolence Budget is met this month. So far the percentage income is way behind what it has been other years. The slowness with which funds are coming in is cause for great concern and may seriously affect Presbyterian work for years to come. What can you do to make our Budget a reality by December 31st? Surely no Christmas gift is more important!

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